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ran at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket at intervals from 1767 to 1789.

Does it not seem, then, that the stage history of Voltaire's plays in England indicates, not an active period of adaptation before 1744, turning to a 'cessation of interest' thereafter, but rather a period of direct but narrow interest before 1744, growing, after that time, into a broad, perhaps scattering, but certainly vigorous popularity, which reached its climax in the third quarter of the century?

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### NOTES ON THOMAS HEYWOOD'S AGES

In an admirable article on "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature"<sup>1</sup> Professor J. S. P. Tatlock has, among other useful services, set forth in detail the source material for Thomas Heywood's series of classical chronicle histories, the *Golden*, *Silver*, *Brazen*, and *Iron Ages*. He corrects the prevailing impression that Heywood relied mainly on Ovid (*cf. e. g.* Schelling: "Thomas Heywood, who on one occasion sat down to write, a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on his left hand, and translated it into five plays, omitting little and extenuating nothing"<sup>2</sup>) and demonstrates his chief dependence on Caxton's *Recuyell*. In fact, Heywood's following of Caxton is frequently so close and so prolonged as to be positively slavish; *Golden Age* is nothing in the world but a dramatized novel, adhering to its source with a fidelity without parallel, so far as I recall, in Elizabethan drama. *Silver Age* uses Ovid to a considerable extent; *Brazen Age* is least dependent on Caxton and has most frequent recourse to Ovid. *Iron Age* is almost as close to Caxton as is *Golden Age*. It is my purpose in this paper to make certain additions to Prof. Tatlock's list of sources.

In the second act of *Golden Age* Jupiter's seduction of Calisto is, as Tatlock remarks, very close to Caxton. There is, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.* (1915), xxx, 673-770.

<sup>2</sup> *Elizabethan Drama*, I, xxxiv. Cf. also Pearson reprint of Heywood's Plays, I, xx; *Introd. to Mermaid Ed.*, xix.

a decided difference in tone between the prose account and the play in both parts of the episode, the wooing and the rape. The latter has in the play a tone of broad comedy quite lacking in Caxton's sober account, with its medieval conception of an amour as an affair of sighs and tears and long speeches; for the conduct of the scene in broadest vein Heywood needed no suggestion and no model.<sup>3</sup> In the wooing scene there is again the difference between the medieval courtesy of Caxton's situation and Heywood's more spirited presentation of his impetuous, cajoling, arguing Jupiter and sparring, crafty Calisto. The hint for Jupiter's argument against chastity is doubtless to be found in Caxton: "ye be yong and fayr amonge none of yow that so go in to religyon may growe no fruyt of children Aduyse yow wel hit were better that ye abode amonge the worldly peple that enplenyssh the world."<sup>4</sup> But there is some reason to think that for the phrasing of the argument Heywood received suggestions from Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*:

- (a) What is it when you loose your mayden-head,  
But make your beauty live, when you be dead,  
In your faire issue? . . . . .  
Leave to the world your like for face and stature,  
That the next age may praise your gifts of nature.<sup>5</sup>

By law of nature thou art bound to breed,  
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead;  
And so, in spite of death, thou dost survive,  
In that thy likeness still is left alive. *V. and A.*, 171-4.

- (b) Men were got to get; you borne others to beare.  
Thou wast begot; to get it is thy duty. *V. and A.*, 168.

- (c) This flower will wither, not being cropt in time;  
Age is too late, then do not loose your prime.

Fair flowers that are not gather'd in their prime  
Rot and consume themselves in little time. *V. and A.*, 131-2.

It will not do to insist very strongly upon these resemblances, for the question of possible relationship is complicated by the

<sup>3</sup>Swinnburne's suggestion that it is imitated from the twenty-seventh idyl of Theocritus is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup>*Recuyell*, ed. H. O. Sommer, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup>The Heywood citations are from the Pearson reprint, vol. III, pp. 25-26.

popularity of the motif. The close connection between the *Venus and Adonis* and the first seventeen of Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Procreation group, has been studied in detail,<sup>6</sup> and parallels have been found elsewhere, *e. g.* in *Hero and Leander* and the *Arcadia*. Thus we may compare *a* above with the following:

How much more praise deserv'd thy beauty's use  
If thou couldst answer, "This fair child of mine  
Shall sum my count and make my old excuse,"  
Proving his beauty by succession thine! Son. 2.

Make thee another self for love of me,  
That beauty still may live in thine or thee. Son. 10.

Various other parallels follow:

- (d) Women, faire Queene, are nothing without men:  
You are but cyphers, empty roomes to fill,  
And till men's figures come, uncounted still.  
One is no number; maids are nothing, then,  
Without the sweet society of men. *Hero and Leander*, 255-6.

- (e) To live a maid, what is't? 'tis to live nothing:  
'Tis like a covetous man to hoord up treasure,  
Bar'd from your own use, and from others' pleasure.

Then treasure is abus'd,  
When misers keep it; being put to loan,  
In time it will return us two for one. *H. and L.*, 234-6.

Then, beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse  
The bounteous largess given thee to give?  
Profitless usurer, why dost thou use  
So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live? Son. 4.

- (f) Oh thinke, faire creature, that you had a mother,  
One that bore you that you might bear another.

Dear my love, you know  
You had a father; let your son say so. Son. 13.

Nature, when you were first borne, vowed you a woman,  
and as she made you child of a mother, so to do your best  
to be mother of a child. *Arcadia*, bk. III.<sup>7</sup>

- (g) Should all effect the strict life you desire,  
The world it selfe should end when we expire.  
If all were minded so, the times should cease  
And threescore year would make the world away. Son. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Alden's Variorum edition of the Sonnets.

<sup>7</sup> Cambridge English Classics, p. 379.

Koeppel, who noted certain of these parallels,<sup>8</sup> was on the safe side when he remarked: "Viel gewicht ist diesen übereinstimmungen jedoch nicht beizulegen, derselbe anlass konnte leicht dieselben gedanken erzeugen."<sup>9</sup>

The possibility of any imitation of the sonnets by Heywood is practically obviated by the date of the composition of *Golden Age*; although not printed till 1611, it was probably written 1594-6.<sup>10</sup> That Heywood was one of the "private friends" among whom the "sugred Sonnets" had circulated before 1598, according to Meres, is not probable, since in 1595 he was a young and practically unknown man, at the very beginning of his career. His acquaintance with *Venus and Adonis*, however, can be proved by other means.

The additional evidence is to be found in the Venus and Adonis episode in *Brazen Age*. Of this Tatlock says that it is clearly from the *Metamorphoses*,<sup>11</sup> and Koeppel dismisses it with the following comment: "Der wortlaut seiner kurzen scenen erinnert uns nur selten an das zweifellos auch ihm wohlbekannte, üppige epos Shakespeare's, er hat die gefährliche nähe möglichst gemieden. Eine auffälligere, nicht unbedingt vom stoffe geforderte übereinstimmung bemerken wir nur in der warnung der Venus vor der jagd auf den eber, Sh.'s Venus hatte gesagt: *But if thou needes wilt hunt, be ruled by me; Uncouple at the timorous flying hare, Or at the fox which lives by subtlety* (v. 673 ff.), und so lesen wir auch bei Heywood in ihrer rede: *Hunt thou the beasts that flye, The icanton Squirrell, or the trembling Hare, The crafty Fox: these pastimes fearelesse are* (vol. III, p. 186). Bei der reichlichen überlieferung der schönen sage ist es aber wohl möglich dass auch diese ähnlichkeit auf eine gemeinsame quelle zurückzuführen sein wird."<sup>12</sup> Although Heywood's trio of harmless beasts is obviously closer to Shakespeare's than to Ovid's "fleet hares, or the stag with lofty horns, or the hinds," this similarity, if it stood alone, would furnish no basis for argument that Heywood was conscious-

<sup>8</sup> a, c, and e.

<sup>9</sup> *Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, in Bang's *Materialien z. Kunde d. ält. engl. Dr.*, IX, 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> The evidence is best presented by Tatlock.

<sup>11</sup> x, 519 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

ly using *Venus and Adonis* as a model. But here are a number of other parallel passages:

Why doth Adonis flye the Queene of love,  
And shun this Ivory girdle of my armes?<sup>13</sup>

I have hemm'd thee here

Within the circuit of this ivory pale. *V. and A.*, 229-30.

To be thus scarft the dreadfull God of warre  
Would give me conquered kingdomes.

I have been wooed, as I entreat thee now,  
Even by the stern and direful god of war . . . .

Who conquers where he comes in every jar. *V. and A.*, 97-100.

Come, let us tumble on this violet banke,  
Pre'thee be wanton; let us toy and play.

Be bold to play, our sport is not in sight;  
These blue-vein'd violets whereon we lean. *V. and A.*, 124-5.

Witness this primrose bank whereon I lie. *V. and A.*, 151.

Looke on me, Adon, with a steadfast eye,  
That in these Christall glasses I may see  
My beauty. . . . .

Look in mine eye-balls, there thy beauty lies. *V. and A.*, 119.

With my white fingers I will clap thy cheek.

Her other tender hand his fair cheek feels:  
His tenderer cheek receives her soft hand's print.

*V. and A.*, 352-3.

Madame, you are not modest.

He saith she is immodest, blames her miss. *V. and A.*, 53.

Thou art not man; yet wert thou made of stone  
I have heat to melt thee.

Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone, . . .  
Thing like a man, but of no woman bred!

Thou art no man, though of a man's complexion.

*V. and A.*, 211-15.

I have kisses that can murder unkinde words.

What follows more she murders with a kiss. *V. and A.*, 54.

Alas! my brow's so smooth

It will not beare a wrinkle.

Thou canst not see one wrinkle in my brow. *V. and A.*, 139.

<sup>13</sup> Pearson reprint, III, 184-6.

To support the evidence of these quotations there are other indications that Heywood had recourse to *Venus and Adonis* as well as to the *Metamorphoses*. The first obvious resemblance to Ovid's narrative comes at about line 64: "Hunt thou the beasts that fly;" the following lines are a pretty close rendering of Ovid. There is nothing in the Latin to suggest the first part of the scene, in which the amorous goddess woos the cold Adonis, intent on his hunting. The first sixty lines, then, are either original or were suggested by some source other than Ovid. What more probable source than Shakespeare's widely read poem? How could Heywood have helped falling under its influence, writing as he probably did, while the poem was still enjoying its greatest popularity at the top of that vogue for erotic poetry which marked the last decade of the sixteenth century? In addition to the verbal likenesses cited above, all of which occur in the first sixty lines, there are these specific points of likeness, which are not to be found in Ovid: (a) the strenuous wooing of the goddess with the emphasis upon physical allurements; (b) the reluctance of Adonis and his immaturity; (c) the goddess's premonition and prevision of Adonis's death by the boar: cf. *Brazen Age* 186:

That very word (boar) strooke from my heart all joy;  
It startled mee: methinkes I see thee dye  
By that rude Boare

with *Venus and Adonis* 661 ff.:

And more than so, presenteth to mine eye  
The picture of an angry chafing boar,  
Under whose sharp fangs on his back doth lie  
An image like thyself, all stain'd with gore.

Now *a* and *b* are the essential features of the Shakesperean development of Ovid's story. Is it likely that Heywood added them independently?

The story of Medea and Jason in *Brazen Age*, which Tatlock attributes to the *Metamorphoses* or *Tristia*, or possibly to V. Flaccus's *Argonauticon*, is most largely indebted to *Metamorphoses*. Medea's account of the origin of the golden fleece, not given in *Met.*, is taken from the *Fasti*, III, 855 ff.; while for the death of Absyrtus Heywood turns to *Tristia*, III, 9. The Mars and Venus episode, attributed by Tatlock to *Metamorphoses*,<sup>14</sup> is in reality

<sup>14</sup> IV, 171 ff.

taken from *Ars Amatoria*, II, 562 ff. (cf. Venus's mocking of Vulcan, her weeping, her vow to repeat openly what she had hitherto done by stealth, Vulcan's acknowledgment that he has acted foolishly, the "moral" of the tale). The latter is longer and closer to the original version in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*; that Heywood used the Latin rather than the Greek is proved by the fact that in details where the two differ he always agrees with Ovid. This episode, skilfully enough developed from Ovid's brief account, with some graceful incidental verse, is the best single illustration of the extremely loose structure of the *AGES*. It has not a shadow of connection with anything that precedes or follows it, is introduced in the middle of a serious narrative solely for the sake of its risqué comedy, and Heywood can find no better excuse for its introduction than his apologetic explanation in the prologue to the act:

Loath are we, curteous auditors, to cloy  
Your appetites with viands of one taste.

In conclusion, to show the profusion of sources from which Heywood drew his material for the *AGES* and his early acquaintance with classical literature (which may be of importance in connection with the question whether he had a university education) there follows an enumeration of works upon which he actually or probably drew.

Classical: *Iliad*.

Lucian's "Ονειρος ἡ Ἀλεκτρωνών.

*Aeneid*.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*, *Tristia*, *Ars Amatoria*,  
*Heroides*.

Plautus's *Amphitruo*.

English: Caxton's *Recuyell*.

Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*.

Greene's *Euphues his Censure to Philautus*.

The revenge play type.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. my article, "A New Specimen of the Revenge Play," *Modern Philology* (awaiting publication).